

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 07089

EXDIS

USSALT TWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: ROWNY/OGARKOV DISCUSSIONS
(SALT TWO-1731)

1. DURING THE VANCE/GROMYKO NEGOTIATIONS ON SALT IN MOSCOW IN APRIL 1978, ROWNY HAD FIVE OPPORTUNITIES TO TALK WITH MARSHAL OGARKOV, CHIEF OF THE SOVIET GENERAL STAFF. THESE CONVERSATIONS WERE FROM TEN MINUTES TO ONE HOUR IN DURATION, TOTALING PERHAPS TWO AND ONE-HALF HOURS OF TALK. DURING THEIR DISCUSSIONS OGARKOV WAS GENERALLY PLEASANT; HOWEVER, HE REPEATED ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS THAT AGREEMENTS WERE POSSIBLE ONLY ON SOVIET TERMS AND APPEARED CONFIDENT TO THE POINT OF BEING COCKY THAT THE SOVIET POSITIONS WOULD PREVAIL.

2. AT THEIR FIRST MEETING ON THE MORNING OF 20 APRIL, ROWNY ASKED OGARKOV WHAT, IN HIS VIEW, WERE THE BIG ISSUES SEPARATING THEM. OGARKOV LISTED THREE: (1) BACKFIRE, (2) "NEW TYPES", AND (3) TIMING OF DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION. ON BACKFIRE, OGARKOV SAID THAT THIS WAS AN "ARTIFICIAL PROBLEM" AND ASKED WHY THE US PERSISTED IN ITS POSITION.
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TION. HE GLOSSED OVER "NEW TYPES" EXCEPT TO REPEAT THE SOVIET ARGUMENT THAT THE USSR NEEDS AN EXEMPTION FOR A SINGLE RV ICBM IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN EQUALITY. ON THE TIMING OF DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION (D&D) HE ASKED WHY THE US OPPOSED AN EIGHTEEN-MONTH PERIOD FOR D&D. ROWNY RESPONDED THAT THE US HAD STUDIED PAST SOVIET PERFORMANCES AND WAS CONVINCED THEY COULD ACCOMPLISH D&D FASTER.

OGARKOV'S ANSWER WAS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE THE BEST JUDGE OF HOW LONG THEIR D&D WOULD TAKE.

3. THEIR SECOND MEETING TOOK PLACE DURING THE LUNCHEON AT LENIN HILLS. ON THE WHOLE, THIS CONVERSATION WAS FRIENDLY AND NON-SUBSTANTIVE.

4. THEIR THIRD MEETING WAS AT THE VANCE/GROMYKO MEETING ON THE AFTERNOON OF 20 APRIL. OGARKOV ASKED ROWNY IF THE US, HAVING REFLECTED, WAS NOW READY TO DROP THE "ARTIFICIAL" BACKFIRE PROBLEM. OGARKOV INSISTED THAT BACKFIRE IS A MEDIUM BOMBER. ROWNY ASKED OGARKOV WHY A MEDIUM BOMBER WOULD NEED TO BE 2-1/2 TIMES HEAVIER THAN ANY OTHER NON-HEAVY BOMBER ON EITHER SIDE. OGARKOV OFFERED TO GIVE ROWNY A RIDE IN A BACKFIRE WHICH WOULD FLY FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO THE US AND HEAD FOR CUBA. OGARKOV SAID HE WOULD SEND FLOWERS TO ROWNY'S WIFE FOR HIS FUNERAL. ROWNY SAID HE WOULD ACCEPT OGARKOV'S OFFER, CONFIDENT HE WOULD MAKE IT TO CUBA.

5. ROWNY BROUGHT UP THE ISSUE OF THE EXPIRATION DATE OF THE PROTOCOL. OGARKOV SAID THE SIDES HAD PREVIOUSLY REACHED AGREEMENT THAT THE PROTOCOL WOULD RUN FOR THREE YEARS AFTER THE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN SIGNED. ROWNY SAID THIS WAS NOT HIS UNDERSTANDING, THAT THE US HAD ORIGINALLY SAID THE PROTOCOL WOULD EXPIRE ON 30 SEP 1980 BUT WERE NOW
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WILLING TO EXTEND IT TO 31 DEC 1980. OGARKOV SAID THAT THE US PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE SOVIETS BEGIN D&D BEFORE THE PROTOCOL EXPIRED WAS ILLOGICAL BECAUSE THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT KNOW WHICH SYSTEMS THEY COULD GIVE UP UNTIL THEY KNEW HOW THE ISSUES IN THE PROTOCOL WERE RESOLVED. OGARKOV SHIFTED THE DISCUSSION TO THE "NEW TYPES" PROPOSAL, SAYING HE WAS GRATIFIED THE US NO LONGER WAS SEEKING TO CONTROL ACCURACY. HE REPEATED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NEED, IN ORDER NOT TO FALL BEHIND, TO BE ABLE TO REPLACE THEIR AGING AND "WEAK" ICBMS WITH SINGLE RVS.

6. IN THEIR FOURTH SESSION ON FRIDAY MORNING THEY RETURNED TO THE BACKFIRE ISSUE. ROWNY SAID THAT UNLESS THE ISSUE WAS SENSIBLY RESOLVED IT COULD PUT THE ENTIRE TREATY IN JEOPARDY OF NOT BEING ACCEPTED. ROWNY SAID THAT HUNDREDS OF US ENGINEERS HAD SPENT THOUSANDS OF HOURS STUDYING THE BACKFIRE AND THAT NO REPUTABLE ENGINEER DISAGREED WITH THE CONCLUSION THAT BACKFIRE HAS AN INTERCONTINENTAL CAPABILITY. ROWNY ASKED OGARKOV IF THE US WERE TO BUILD AN AIRCRAFT TO BACKFIRE'S DIMENSIONS AND WEIGHT WOULD THE SOVIETS BE WILLING TO CALL IT A MEDIUM BOMBER. OGARKOV WOULD NOT GIVE A DIRECT ANSWER. ROWNY TOLD OGARKOV THAT

SINCE THEIR DISAGREEMENT RESULTED FROM DIFFERENCES IN
FACT THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE THE BACKFIRE ISSUE WOULD AP-
PEAR TO BE FOR THEM TO DISCUSS THE CONFLICTING ESTIMATES.
OGARKOV MERELY SHRUGGED HIS SHOULDERS AND BECAME SILENT.

7. THEIR FINAL MEETING TOOK PLACE ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON.
OGARKOV'S STATEMENTS AND MANNER TOOK ON GREATER CONFIDENCE
TO THE POINT OF COCKINESS. WHEN ROWNY ASKED OGARKOV WHAT
HE THOUGHT THEY COULD PROFITABLY TALK ABOUT, OGARKOV SAID

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 07089

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THERE WAS NOTHING MORE TO DISCUSS. HE CONCLUDED THE BRIEF
DISCUSSION WITH THE REMARK THAT THE SOVIETS CONSIDERED IT
WAS UP TO THE US TO MAKE MOVES TOWARD THE SOVIET POSITIONS.
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